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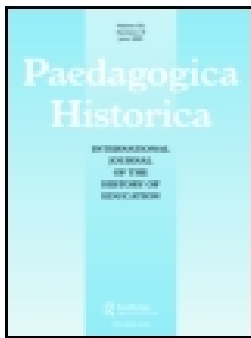
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The embodiment of teaching the regulation of emotions in early modern Europe

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ABSTRACT

Teaching the regulation of emotions to support parents in educating their children to come of age properly was part of a missionary movement in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. This movement was inspired by the belief in the power of education from the northern European Renaissance and by the emphasis on catechism by the Reformation. Its mission resulted in an impressive and varied supply of (emblem) books on family and child-rearing advice. This article focuses on the embodiment of the teaching of the regulation of emotions represented in emblems that use the combined power of images and text. Based on a framework resulting from an analysis of the discourse on the classification and the regulation of emotions in early modern Europe, a sample of seventeenth-century emblems from one of the most popular books of the Dutch seventeenth-century republic, *Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time* by Jacob Cats, was analysed by looking at the embodiment of teaching in relationship to the emblem's text. Most emotions named by philosophers and theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also expressed in those emblems. The emblems carry the message that behavioural mistakes belong to the phase of youth. Teaching children to control their emotions could be done through fun. One of the most popular books in seventeenth-century Holland, many people, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, bought and read Cats' work, evidence for the conclusion that a majority of Dutch burghers shared the messages in the emblems.

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1. Introduction

Teaching the regulation of emotions to support parents in educating their children to come of age properly was part of a missionary movement in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe to raise the level of educational and moral literacy among parents and youngsters.¹ This movement was inspired by the belief in the power of education from the northern European Renaissance with Erasmus as its most influential representative, and

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¹Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, "Moral Literacy: The Pleasure of Learning How To Become Decent Adults and Good Parents in the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century", *Paedagogica Historica* 44, nos 1/2 (2008): 135–49.

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by the emphasis on catechism by the Reformation. Its mission resulted in an impressive and varied supply of (emblem) books, among them long-running bestsellers on family and child-rearing advice, and of many paintings and drawings. It filled an increasing demand from a growing bourgeoisie. The ancien régime discourse considered children's emotions as feelings to be regulated by educational interventions in the family and at school: regulation of speech, of behaviour, and of bodily expression.² During Romanticism, children's emotions were assessed differently, as centres of creative energy, to be cherished and stimulated. But not always: more control of emotions and more discipline and surveillance were considered necessary for children at risk.³

This article focuses on the embodiment of the teaching of the regulation of emotions represented in emblems that use the combined power of images and text.⁴ After a brief introduction to the history of emotions (section 2), we turn to the discourse on the regulation of emotions in early modern Europe (section 3). Based on that discourse, a framework will be developed for the analysis of a sample of seventeenth century emblems (section 4). The emblems will be analysed by looking at the configuration of bodies and the posture and facial expressions of individuals, both children and adults, in relation to the emblem's text (section 5).

2. History of emotions: a new paradigm with a long tradition

The use of the concept of "emotion", or the affective state of behaviour as it is often called in modern psychology, seems to be rather modern. Until the eighteenth century, this concept was only scarcely used⁵ and, originating "from literary and scientific clusters", it only became dominant during the nineteenth century, then covering "other terms such as expression, nerves, viscera, and brain".⁶ Before, people mostly used terms like feelings, affections, passions, and sentiments, narrowly connected with a moral cluster of thinking, covering topics like sin, will, grace, and soul. Controlling emotions was dominated by this moral thinking and based on a Cartesian opposition between emotion and reason.⁷ Notwithstanding the attention paid to emotions by William James at the end of the nineteenth century, in academic psychology broad interest in emotions only took off in the 1970s.⁸ According to the

²G.H. Bantock, "Educating the Emotions: An Historical Perspective," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 34, no. 2 (1986): 122–41. Cf. P. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960), 19, 73; J.J.H. Dekker and D.M. Lechner, "Discipline and Pedagogics in History: Foucault, Ariès, and the History of Panoptical Education," *The European Legacy* 4 (1999): 37–49; J.J.H. Dekker, "Éduquer et punir. Michel Foucault et l'histoire de l'éducation surveillée," *Sociétés et Représentations* 3 (1996): 257–68; J.J.H. Dekker and L.F. Groenendijk, "Philippe Ariès's Discovery of Childhood after Fifty Years: The Impact of a Classic Study on Educational Research," *Oxford Review of Education* 38, no. 2 (2012): 133–47.

³M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1975); G. Vigarello, *Histoire du corps*, vol. 3, *De la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2005); J.J.H. Dekker, *The Will to Change the Child: Re-education Homes for Children at Risk in Nineteenth Century Western Europe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001).

⁴On images as representations, see J.J.H. Dekker, "Images as Representations: Visual Sources on Education and Childhood in the Past," in "Educational Historiography, (Re-)Presentations, Realities, Materialities," ed. J.J.H. Dekker and P. Smeijers, special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 6 (2015): 702–15.

⁵Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 141–2.

⁶*Ibid.*, 135. Cf. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).

⁷Jeroen Deploige, "Studying Emotions: The Medievalist as Human Scientist?," in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th–16th Century)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 3–24, 16; from the late eighteenth century, and stimulated by the publication of Darwinian ideas on evolution, this Cartesian opposition between mind and body became less influential on both biological and philosophical grounds.

⁸William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols (1890; New York: Dover Publications, 1950).

psychologist Nico Frijda, who contributed substantially to this explosion of interest, emotions are both individual and idiosyncratic, and emerge and develop according to specific laws of human behaviour.⁹ The topic of educating emotions, according to Bantock, also asks for philosophical and historical perspectives: the clarification of emotions in relation to contemporary philosophies of mind, and looking at emotions over time.¹⁰

Although historians increasingly focus on the study of sociocultural variations of emotions over time, looking at emotions that way is not new.¹¹ The founders of the French Annales School, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, already pioneered this approach in the 1920s under the paradigm of “histoire des mentalités”. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s French historians produced bestsellers like *Montaillou* by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* by Philippe Ariès, and the *Histoire de la vie privée*, edited by Ariès and Georges Duby. This, together with contributions by the Italian *micro storia* historians, among them Carlo Ginzburg, show a productive history of emotions under other headings from the 1920s. Recently, a more internationally supported paradigm has developed under the name of the history of emotions.¹²

History of emotions revealed a great diversity in practical conceptions of the self and of emotions in early modern times.¹³ It focused on sociocultural variations over time and on individual diversity by following the *micro storia* tradition. According to Reddy, “one should not expect a single coherent system of understandings or values to govern the self in a given period” and “heterodoxy” should “remain [...] the rule throughout this early modern period”. Reddy emphasises differences in emotional experience between the ruling elite and the lower classes: “diversity in an ordered and highly hierarchical society”.¹⁴ According to Reddy, an important contrast, and of importance for historical research, is that between “emotional standards and ideals” and “the style [of expressing emotions] achieved in practice”, which remains “a compromise”. This asks for creativity “in the exploitation of sources”.¹⁵ When, according to Reddy, we look at emotions in history as a field of investigation that includes social and cultural standards and compromises, and strivings of individuals, “the history of emotions presents itself as indispensable to the understanding of any time or place”.¹⁶

We now turn to the question of which emotions and passions should be controlled in early modern Europe.

⁹Nico H. Frijda, “The Laws of Emotions,” *American Psychologist* 5 (1988): 349–58; Nico H. Frijda, *The Laws of Emotions* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2007).

¹⁰Bantock, “Educating the Emotions,” 122.

¹¹Deploige, “Studying Emotions”.

¹²See Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011); Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Bantock, “Educating the Emotions”; Oatley, *Emotions*, 141–2; Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*. On the Annales school, see A. Burguière and J.M. Todd, *The Annales School: An Intellectual History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); M. Alten, A. Bidaud et al. eds., “Braudel dans tous ses états. La vie quotidienne des sciences sociales sous l'empire de l'histoire,” *Espaces Temps* 34/35 (1986): 1–111; K.E. Born, “Neue Wege der Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in Frankreich. Die Historikergruppe der ‘Annales’,” *Saeculum* 15, no. 3 (1964): 298–308; P.H. Hutton, *Philippe Ariès and the Politics of French Cultural History* (Cambridge, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004). Cf. Dekker and Groenendijk, “Philippe Ariès,” 134; P. Ariès and G. Duby, eds., *Histoire de la vie privée* (Paris: Seuil, 1985–7).

¹³William M. Reddy, “Historical Research on the Self and Emotions,” *Emotion Review* 1 (2009): 302–15.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 305.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 311.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 12, cf. 306, on early modern Europe.

3. The discourse on emotions and their regulation in early modern Europe

Several early modern European philosophers and theologians tried to categorise emotions, then mostly mentioned passions, among them Baruch de Spinoza (1632–77), René Descartes (1596–1650), Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), with the famous Aristotelian mediaeval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) shaping the contours of their discourse by his distinction between passions of which the object is easy, and passions of which the object is difficult to attain or fend off.¹⁷ He triggered many theologians, philosophers, and medical doctors and moralists to categorise passions and to write about how to control them.¹⁸

According to Descartes in *Les passions de l'âme*,¹⁹ the body, the *res extensa*, belongs to the extended world, is composed of matter, and obeys the laws that govern all physical things, while the soul, the *res cogitans*, is not extended and therefore has no spatial properties. Both *res* exist in perfect harmony to constitute the human being.²⁰ Descartes describes passions as perceptions, sensations, or emotions. Perceptions and sensations are, as passions of the soul, passive, while passions as emotions belong to the extended world and “can be exceptionally powerful and unsettling”.²¹ Descartes distinguished five kinds of passions of the soul: (1) sensory perceptions, caused by the body, and proximately by the brain²²; (2) memories and fantasies; (3) perceptions that refer to the body, such as appetites, and sensations like heat or pain²³; (4) bodily emotions caused by the body itself or by external things, and which give rise to joy, anger, love, sadness, desire and wonder: basic passions or passions in the narrow sense²⁴; and (5) understanding.²⁵ Since body and soul are ontologically distinct, emotions need to be controlled and educated. Bodily sources of passion should not be suppressed, but shifted into morally sanctioned paths. A good upbringing should correct defects of

¹⁷Aquinas allocates certain passions to each of them. There are six passions that we feel when our inclinations to good and away from evil are not attended by any sense or difficulty: love, desire, and joy, matched by passions that accompany our responses to things that we perceive as evil: hatred, avoidance, and sorrow. These kinds of action depend on a further five passions: hope, despair, audacity, fear, and anger. By using this division, Aquinas emphasised that conflicts in the soul exist about which passions to follow. Therefore, he accounts for some of our capacities to cope with them, in particular our ability to struggle against our passions and act in the face of our desires. See Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 58.

¹⁸In *The Passion of the Minde* (1601) by Thomas Wright, 11 basic passions are distinguished: love and hate, desire and abomination, delight and sadness, hope and despair, fear and audacity, and ire. To Wright and others, the face is the most important locus of the manifestation of emotions with the eyes regarded as keys to the secret motions of the soul. See Peter Harrison, “Reading the Passions: The Fall, the Passions, and Dominion over Nature,” in *The Soft Underbelly of Reason: The Passions in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Stephen Gaukroger (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 49–78, 59. The Dutch professor of practical medicine Sylvius (1614–72) distinguished seven passions and their opposites moving the soul of men: love/hate; happiness/sadness; hope/despair; wrath/fear; clemency/cruelty; generosity/jealousy; and empathy [commiseration]/insult. See Pamela H. Smith, “Science and Taste: Painting, Passions, and the New Philosophy in Seventeenth-Century Leiden,” *Isis* 90 (1999): 421–61.

¹⁹René Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme. Introduction, notes, bibliographie et chronologie par Pascale D'Árchy* (1649; Paris: Flammarion, 1996). On *Les passions*, see Denis Kambouchner, *L'homme des passions. Commentaires sur Descartes*, vol. 2, *Canonique* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995); Carole Talon-Hugon, *Les passions rêvées par la raison. Essai sur la théorie des passions de Descartes et de quelques-uns de ses contemporains* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2002); Deploige, “Studying Emotions,” 3–4.

²⁰Francisco López-Muñoz, Gabriel Rubio, Juan D. Molina, and Cecilio Alamo, “Sadness as a Passion of the Soul: A Psychopathological Consideration of the Cartesian Concept of Melancholy,” *Brain Research Bulletin* 85 (2011): 42–53; James, *Passion and Action*, 89.

²¹*Ibid.*, 95.

²²*Ibid.*, 92.

²³*Ibid.*, 94.

²⁴Gary Hatfield, “Did Descartes Have a Jamesian Theory of the Emotions?,” *Philosophical Psychology* 20 (2008): 413–40; James, *Passion and Action* 93.

²⁵James, *Passion and Action*, 94.

birth,²⁶ by means of practical remedies for excesses of passions, such as: “when dealing with stress, it is essential to avoiding thinking about stressful things [...] thinking about very pleasant situations and objects is very positive.”²⁷

Spinoza considered human beings as parts, thus subjects of human nature, which govern the world with blind and geometrical necessity. According to him, the basic passions are desire, joy, and sadness. Desire is connected to the basic urge we have to continue in our existence. Sadness is the case when outside impingements on a thing decrease its power to act. When outside impingements increase it, it gives rise to the passion of joy. Other emotions follow out of these three, for example love as joy with the accompanying idea of an external cause, and hate as sadness with the accompanying idea of an external cause.²⁸ If we accept the world as it is, we will have active emotions, based on love for the world and for other human beings; if we struggle against it, our emotions are passive while we think that our desires ought to be fulfilled. In trying to control our passions, we make ourselves more subject to them, so that only by liberating ourselves from emotions can we find true freedom and happiness, while no longer “dominated by the passions.”²⁹

Erasmus also studied the emotions.³⁰ His *Praise of Folly*, published in Latin in 1511 as *Stultitiae laus*, is partly a parody of those believing that they are ruled by reason, but in fact appear to be driven by trivial and foolish emotions.³¹ He implicitly presented the idea of a truly educated person as an integrated personality with intellect and emotion working together. Becoming such a personality happens by education, Erasmus argues in his influential book on child-rearing and education, *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, for: “Every human being can be taught virtue without any great hardship”, and the uninformed creature produced by nature should be fashioned by the act of education to become a man.³² According to Erasmus, children “are to be seen initially as empty vessels to be filled by the teacher, or as wax to be moulded”, which shows that Erasmus believed in “the power of reason to form the nature of the child”, with man “considered in a general sense as being rational by nature.”³³ While the concept of children as *tabula rasa* is usually ascribed to John Locke, already a century earlier children were considered as a blank slate; educators should take advantage of this blank slate, but, because it is easier to sail a ship with the wind and tide than against them, children should enjoy their study.³⁴ At the same time, bodily discipline as a social attribute was extremely important in Renaissance education. So, dance could be seen as a form of emotional control in order to direct impulses into socially and artistically approved ways. Controlling emotions meant also behaving according etiquette. Erasmus wrote extensively about that, for example on yawning or blowing your

²⁶Isabelle Wienand, “Descartes’ Morals,” *South African Journal of Philosophy* 25 (2006): 177–88; cf. Descartes, *Les passions de l’âme*.

²⁷López-Muñoz et al., “Sadness as a Passion of the Soul”.

²⁸Daniel Garber, “Disciplining Feeling: The Seventeenth-Century Idea of a Mathematical Theory of Emotions,” in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, ed. Susan McClary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2003), 19–34.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 25.

³⁰Oatley, *Emotions*, 141–2.

³¹Bantock, “Educating the Emotions,” 130.

³²Yehudi Lindeman, “Macropedius’ *Rebeller* and Erasmus’ Principles of Education,” *European Medieval Drama* 13 (2009): 137–46.

³³James Mearns, “The Influence of Erasmus’ Educational Writings on Nicolas Bourbons’ *Paidagogeion*,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 72 (2010): 65–81. Cf. Baldassar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Turin: Einaudi, 1965, 1528).

³⁴John M. Parrish, “Education, Erasmian Humanism and More’s Utopia,” *Oxford Review of Education* 36 (2010): 589–605, 594 (with reference to Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis*, 310).

Thomas Aquinas 1225 – 1274	Desiderius Descartes 1596 – 1650	Baruch Spinoza 1632 – 1677	Charles le Brun 1619- 1690
Joy and sadness			
Desire (and abomination)			
Love and hate			Love and scorn/ hate
Hope and despair			Despair
	Wonder		Admiration
Anger			Anger
Avoidance			Repulsion
Fear and audacity			
			Attention
			Rapture
			Laughter
			To suffer
			Bodily pain
			To weep
			Compassion
			Disdain

Figure 1. Passions described by Aquinas, Descartes, Spinoza, and Le Brun.

nose, so following a “guide to ‘politeness’”, through which gradually the infantile impulse release is checked under the impact of feelings of “shame” and “delicacy” to conform to an increasingly elaborate code of manners. So, a child could become a decent adult by a Renaissance style education that, according to Bantock, “held cognition and feeling in a peculiarly creative tension”.³⁵

It seems that from the sixteenth century, the body and its sensorial, emotive, and physical expressions were increasingly framed within rules of containment and acts of self-control, to be seen in manners, speech, and in the monitoring and restraint of one’s emotional manifestations within socially acceptable boundaries.³⁶ This process was connected with the rise of the individual from the Renaissance, a thesis launched in the nineteenth century by Burkhardt, about the emerging rational, self-interested social actor,³⁷ growing up in cultures focused on the control of emotions in a process of civilisation described by Norbert Elias.³⁸

³⁵Bantock, “Educating the Emotions,” 135. See also Jacques Revel, “Les usages de la civilité,” in *L’histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 3, *De la Renaissance aux lumières*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Paris: Seuil, 1986), 169–209, 172–3; Egle Becchi, “Humanisme et Renaissance,” in *Histoire de l’enfance*, vol. 1, *De l’antiquité au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 160–99; Dominique Julia, “L’enfance aux débuts de l’époque moderne,” in Becchi and Julia, *Histoire*, 342–61. Erasmus’ book was translated into Dutch in 1546. On Erasmus, see also Leendert F. Groenendijk, *Jong gewend, oud gedaan. Protestantse moralisten over de opvoeding van het jonge kind* [Protestant Moralists on the Education of the Young Child] (inaugural lecture) (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 2005). Cf. On the genre of manner books, see Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*.

³⁶Caterina Albano, “The Puzzle of Human Emotions: Some Historical Considerations from the 17th to the 19th Centuries,” *Developmental Medicine & Child Neurology* 50 (2008): 494–7, 495.

³⁷Reddy, “Historical Research,” 302. On the history of individual identity, see: J.J.H. Dekker, *Het Gezinsportret. Over de geschiedenis van opvoeding, cultuuroverdracht en identiteit* [Portrait of a Family. On the History of Education, Cultural Transmission and Identity] (Baarn: Ambo, 1992); J. Gélis, “L’individualisation de l’enfant,” in *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 3, *De la Renaissance aux lumières*, ed. R. Chartier (Paris: Seuil, 1985), 311–29. See also J. Burkhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860; Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987).

This paradigm of rationalisation, however, was questioned by historians who studied periods before the Enlightenment, i.e. before the believed “take off” of rationalisation, like early modern history, mediaeval history, and the history of Ancient Greece and Rome, and by cultural anthropologists who studied cultures outside Europe. They concluded that there was no evidence that the management of emotions was less “civilised” in those periods and cultures than in “rationalised” Europe.³⁹ For the rest, in that seemingly “rationalised Europe” until into the twentieth century, much of the thinking about emotions occurred within a Christian framework, in which psychological and physiological components of emotions were narrowly interrelated.⁴⁰ Emotions were defined around notions of moral propriety and control, articulated in terms of the soul and the relationship between the individual and God. According to Karant-Nunn, the protestant reformer

Calvin wants his hearers to feel strongly, and the feeling he solicits in his sermons is profound sorrow for sin and self-recrimination. Such positive sensations as thanksgiving and love are possible to the elect, but these must result from a preceding submissive deprecation.⁴¹

4. Using the seventeenth-century discourse on emotions for interpreting seventeenth-century images and texts about teaching the regulation of emotions

Sources that contain both images and text, like the emblems discussed in section 5 below, seem to be very valuable for the study of the history of emotions. Images are outstanding sources because they can give us the historical sensation of almost coming face to face with patterns of emotions in genre painting or with emotions of real people in portrait painting.⁴² In the seventeenth century, several attempts were made to systematise the outward and thus in images make visible manifestations of emotions. In a reading entitled “a pictorial lexicon of the passions of the soul, accompanied by theoretical justifications based on current philosophical treatments” in 1688 by the painter Charles Le Brun (1619–90)⁴³ to the French *Académie de Peinture*, Le Brun showed the manifestations in drawings of passions and analysed the movements of particular parts of the body accompanying passions like wonder, sadness, and fright. According to Le Brun, the passions are most clearly expressed in the face, particularly in the eyebrows: “The movements of the eyebrows up or down represent respectively the two appetites of the soul – the concupiscible and the irascible. The complexity and strength of their movements, moreover, reflect the complexity and intensity of the underlying passion.”⁴⁴

³⁸Deploige, “Studying Emotions,” 16; Oatley, *Emotions*, 16; Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols (1939; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982).

³⁹Deploige, “Studying Emotions,” 16; cf. for the Middle Ages: J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and The Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (1919; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955).

⁴⁰Albano, “The Puzzle of Human Emotions,” 495.

⁴¹Susan Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 130.

⁴²Leo Bogart, “Reconstructing Past Social Moods from Paintings: The Eyes of the Beheld,” *Journal of Nonverbal Behaviour* 25 (2001): 119–33. On historical sensation, see: J. Huizinga, “De taak der cultuurgeschiedenis,” in *Verzamelde Werken 7: Geschiedwetenschap, Hedendaagsche Cultuur* (1929; Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1950); F.R. Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 120–1.

⁴³According to Louis XIV, Le Brun was the “greatest French artist of all time”; see H. Honour and J. Fleming, *A World History of Art*, 7th ed. (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2009), 604.

⁴⁴Harrison, “Reading the Passions,” 61.



Figure 2. Emblem I, “Rami correcti rectificantur, trabsminimè”, Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt*, 1657 (Special Collections, University Library, University of Groningen).

Those passions and emotions in many ways match the above described emotions mentioned by philosophers and theologians like Aquinas, Descartes, and Spinoza. And those emotions were, according to art historian Gary Schwartz, to be seen in Dutch paintings of the Golden Age containing emotions such as suffering and despair, mourning, lust, fear, fright and surprise, rage and revenge, regret and disappointment, and love, joy, and jollity. While until the middle of the sixteenth century the expression of the suffering of Christ, as such starting in the twelfth century, was still important in painting,⁴⁵ the painting of other passions, including passions of war, such as massacres and soldiers, and the expression of sexual arousal, became more popular, with painters in the Dutch Golden Age seeming to be less constrained in their work than publishers and writers. Yet, behind the painting of emotions was often some self-restraint both for Catholic artists, following “the statement by St Thomas Aquinas that ‘it belongs to the perfection of the moral or human good that the passions be governed by reason’, and for Protestant artists, although they did not follow that doctrinal system”.⁴⁶ Often, emotions were depicted in a rather suppressed way, in particular in portraits. The reserved poses and unrevealing faces were not only regarded as more proper, but also seemed to be truer to life. In the 1630s, “moral packages were messages [...] in fiercer form than before. Losing your temper in a card game was enough

⁴⁵See R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1967), Plates II and III.

⁴⁶Gary Schwartz, *Emotions: Pain and Pleasure in Dutch Painting of the Golden Age* (Rotterdam: Frans Hals Museum, 2014), 55. Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, “Beauty and Simplicity: The Power of Fine Art in Moral Teaching on Education in 17th Century Holland,” *Journal of Family History. Studies in Family, Kinship, and Demography* 34, no. 2 (2009): 166–88; Dekker, “Images as representations”.

to bring on sudden death”.⁴⁷ In other words, the intensity of emotional display in paintings declined and what was still normal in the mid-sixteenth century would have seemed weird and exaggerated to artists and audiences around 1700.⁴⁸ Suppressing of emotions should be taught and learned. It became an important aspect of successful education, as Erasmus emphasised.

In the next section, emotions in seventeenth-century emblems will be interpreted by using the contemporary discourse of emotions from the philosophers and theologians described in section 3. This assumes that not only thinking about emotions but also the ways of expressing emotions could change over time. In order to approach emotions in historical sources in a balanced way, contemporary ways should therefore be leading, while it remains important that historians also should study psychological insights about the more structural facial expressions of emotions.

Figure 1, a summary of contemporary descriptions of emotions, shows that joy, sadness, and desire are used by all philosophers and theologians just mentioned, while other emotions or passions differ (slightly). Contemporaries such as Le Brun can provide us with knowledge on how the expression of emotions was reflected in paintings and other images. In interpreting the emblems, i.e. a combination of text – caption and an accompanying text – and image, it is necessary to both read the text and look at the image to understand the emblem, and thus the expression of emotions reflected in the image. This was also how contemporary readers looked at emblems. Those emblems do show emotions by the configuration of the bodies as a whole, not only as expressed by faces; apart from expressing emotions by human bodies, animal bodies were also used in a symbolic and powerful way to express emotions.

5. Dutch seventeenth-century images on the teaching of the regulation of emotions

Our main source is a very popular emblem book by Jacob Cats (1581–1660), *Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time*, further abridged as *Mirror*, published in 1632 as *Spiegel Van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd* and containing more than 1600 proverbs in Dutch, Italian, French, German, Greek, Latin, and even Turkish.⁴⁹ This source contains the expression of emotions by the teaching of the regulation of emotions. Alongside that source, references are made to another emblem book by Cats, *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Moral Emblems], and to some genre paintings, like the emblems in *Mirror* based on proverbs and dealing with the teaching of the regulation of emotions.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Schwartz, *Emotions*, 79.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 37. Cf. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi* (Padua, 1611; New York: Garland, 1976).

⁴⁹Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt* [Mirror of the Old and the New Times], *Bestaende uyt Spreekwoorden ende Sin-Spreucken, ontleent van de voorige ende tegenwoordige Eeuwe, verlustigt door menigte van Sinne-Beelden, met Gedichten en Prenten daer op passende; Dienstigh tot bericht van alle gedeelten des levens; beginnende van de Kintsheyt, ende eyndigende met het eynde alles vleech* (1632; Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz Schipper, 1657). The text from 1632 is reprinted in a facsimile edition similar in appearance and format (Amsterdam: Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland NV, 1968). The images in Figures 2, 3, and 4 of this article are taken from the 1657 edition.

⁵⁰Cf. J.J.H. Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden. Over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006); J.J.H. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History: Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010). For a scientific edition of *Sinne- en Minnebeelden*, see J. Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* [Images of Passions and Love (Moral Emblems)], 3 vols, ed. H. Luijten (The Hague: Constantijn Huygens Instituut, 1996).



Figure 3. Emblem “Vade ad formicam, piger”, Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt*, 1657, appendix to part one (Special Collections, University Library, University of Groningen).

The contents of those emblems were part of a culture of imaging educational messages in the seventeenth-century Dutch republic. The child was considered as a *tabula rasa* and filling this through education was the main responsibility of parents. To this end, advice books on child-rearing were published to support parents.⁵¹ Among those books were instructive ones in the style of catechisms, attracting readers within specific religious circles, like Johannes de Swaef’s (1594–1653) *De geestelijcke queeckerije* [The Spiritual Nursery] from 1621, Petrus Wittewrongel’s (1609–62) *Oeconomia christiana* from 1655, and Jacobus Koelman’s (1631–95) *The Duties of Parents to Educate their Children for God*, from 1679.⁵² Emblem books on child-rearing were also published, sometimes as complex text puzzles and images that had to be decoded and interpreted, with the emblematic books by Cats

⁵¹See J.J.H. Dekker, “Looking at Filtered Realities: Images of Childhood and Parenting in the Dutch Golden Age,” in *Pädagogische Reflexionen des Visuellen*, ed. K. te Heesen (Münster and New York: Waxmann-Verlag, 2014), 27–46; paintings by the Dutch genre painter Jan Steen also contain the message that education is necessary and that parental behaviour is decisive for a child’s manners and behaviour. Cf. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: William Collins, 1987); Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Leendert F. Groenendijk, “The Republic of God or the Republic of Children? Childhood and Child-Rearing After the Reformation: An Appraisal of Simon Schama’s Thesis about the Uniqueness of the Dutch Case,” *Oxford Review of Education* 17, no. 3 (1991): 317–35.

⁵²See Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 58–116; J.J.H. Dekker, L.F. Groenendijk and J. Verberckmoes, “Proudly Raising Vulnerable Youngsters: The Scope for Education in the Netherlands,” in *Pride and Joy: Children’s portraits in the Netherlands 1500–1700*, ed. J.B. Bedaux and R.E.O. Ekkart (Ghent, Amsterdam, and New York: Ludion and Abrams, 2000), 43–60; cf. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*, 33–41.

becoming long-running bestsellers.⁵³ The reasons why his books were so popular were the absence of doctrinal formulas, his attractive writing style, and the images. His emphasis on the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and love and the cardinal virtues of wisdom, justice, fortitude, and temperance, instead of on specific church-bound doctrines, made his books attractive to a broad and religiously diverse readership. His writing style with easy-to-learn rhymes also contributed to the success of his books, among them the Dutch-written *Houwelick* [Marriage] from 1625, *Mirror*, and *Sinne- en Minnebeelden* [Moral Emblems] published in a number of languages.⁵⁴

Cats did more: he used the power of images for his educational messages by adopting and adapting the style of the *ars amatoria* of Dutch writers such as Daniël Heinsius (1580–1655) and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647). Imaging educational messages and child-rearing were part of the image culture of the Dutch Republic.⁵⁵ After the destruction of religious art in 1566 with the iconoclasm of *Beeldenstorm* during the Reformation, art no longer focused primarily on religious topics, but, among others, on classic mythology and daily life. Looking at images of daily life, and thus looking at oneself – both literally, through portrait painting and symbolically, through genre painting – became part of the lifestyle of Dutch burghers.⁵⁶

Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time on childhood, education, and courtship

Cats wrote books for (future) mothers and fathers. In *Marriage*, a mother's main responsibility, the care and education of children until the age of seven, was emphasised: a child

⁵³J.J.H. Dekker, "Woord en beeld: Jacob Cats en de pedagogische cultuuroverdracht in de zeventiende eeuw," [Word and Image. Jacob Cats and the Educational Cultural Transmission in the Seventeenth Century] in *De gereformeerden en hun vormingsoffensief door de eeuwen heen* [The Protestants and their Educational Mission], ed. J.W. Steutel, D.J. de Ruyter, and S. Miedema (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2009), 47–65; Karel Porteman, "Miscellanea emblematica," *Spiegel der Letteren* 17 (1975): 161–4; Karel Porteman, "Het embleem als 'genus locosum'. Theorie en praktijk bij Cats en Roemer Visscher," [The Emblem as 'Genus locosum': Theory and Practice by Cats and Roemer Visscher] *De zeventiende eeuw* 11 (1995): 184–96; Karel Porteman, "Ey, kijkt toch, kijkt toch eens, geseelen...: Vierhonderd jaar vader Cats [Four Hundred Years of Father Cats] (1577–1660)," *Ons Erfdeel* 20 (1977): 732–46; Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*, 45–6, 55–66.

⁵⁴J. Cats, *Huwelijk* [Marriage], ed. A.A. Sneekker and B. Thijs (Amsterdam: 1993). Cats' *Alle de wercken* [Complete Works], 281, quoted by M.M. Drees, "'Burgerlijke' zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur," [Seventeenth Century Bourgeois Literature] in *Burger*, ed. J. Kloek and K. Tilmans (Amsterdam: 2002), 133–53, 151. On Cats and education, see A.T. van Deursen, "De raadspensionaris Jacob Cats," [The Raadspensionaris Jacob Cats] in *De hartslag van het leven. Studies over de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* [Studies on the Dutch Republic] (1979; Amsterdam: 1996, 362–74); E.K. Grootes, "Literatuurhistorie en Cats' visie op de jeugd," [History of Literature and Cats's Ideas on the Youth] in *Visie in veelvoud. Opstellen van prof. dr. E.K. Grootes over zeventiende-eeuwse letterkunde ter gelegenheid van zijn zestigste verjaardag* [Essays by prof. dr. E.K. Grootes on Seventeenth Century Dutch Literature], ed. M. Spies and J. Jansen (Amsterdam: 1996), 9–28. On the revival of Cats' reputation in the nineteenth century, see J. Kloek, "Burgerdeugd of burgermansdeugd? Het beeld van Jacob Cats als nationaal zedenmeester," [Citizen's Virtue? Cats as National Moralist] in *De stijl van de burger. Over Nederlandse burgerlijke cultuur vanaf de Middeleeuwen* [The Burgher's Style. Dutch Bourgeois Culture From the Middle Ages], ed. R. Aerts and H. te Velde (Kampen: 1998), 100–22; M.A. van den Broek, *De spreekwoorden van Jacob Cats* [The Proverbs by Cats], *alfabetisch gerangschikt en ingeleid* (Antwerpen/Rotterdam: 1998).

⁵⁵See Dekker, "Looking at Filtered Realities," 27–46.

⁵⁶W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht* [Hard-won Unity] (Den Haag: SDU, 1999), 496, 637; A.M. van der Woude, "De schilderijenproductie in Holland tijdens de Republiek," [The Production of Paintings in the Dutch Republic] in *Aards geluk* [Earthly Happiness]. *De Nederlandse en hun spullen van 1550 tot 1850*, ed. A. Schuurman, J. de Vries, and A. van der Woude (Amsterdam: 1997), 223–58; J. de Vries and A. van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* [The Netherlands 1500–1815. The First Phase of Economic Growth] (Amsterdam: 1995), 147, 701; E. de Jongh and G. Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life*. On paintings for a broad market, see also A. Jager, "Galeyschilders en 'dosiijnwerck': De productie, distributie en consumptie van goedkope historiestukken in zeventiende-eeuws" [The Production, Distribution and Consumption of Cheap History Paintings in Seventeenth Century Holland.] (Phd diss., University of Amsterdam, 2016).



Figure 4. Emblem XXX, “Beter by den uyl geseten, als met den valck gevlogen” [Better sitting with the owl than flying with the falcon], Jacob Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyt*, 1657 (Special Collections, University Library, University of Groningen).

“absorbs all things like a blank piece of paper”, or a *tabula rasa*, and mother had to fill that.⁵⁷ But according to Cats, parenting was co-parenting and his other emblem books, among them *Moral Emblems* and *Mirror*, were intended for fathers.

In *Mirror*, Cats also emphasises that fathers should not simply wait and see how their children grow up, but have to become active educators in order to fill adequately their child’s *tabula rasa*. *Mirror* is divided into three main parts on child-rearing, marriage and the specific roles of man and woman, and how to behave in society, respectively. Its 127 images, emblems, or *Sinne-Beelden*, were produced by Adriaan van de Venne, Cats’ regular draughtsman.⁵⁸ From the 52 emblems of part one, the first six and the first one of the appendix deal with child-rearing; the other emblems in part one deal with courtship and its dangers, a topic that dominates *Moral Emblems*.⁵⁹ In the following, the embodiment of teaching the regulation of emotions will be studied by looking at emblems on child-rearing and courtship.

⁵⁷According to Cats, favouring one child over another was wrong as was chastisement that had to be limited as much as possible, for the misbehaviour of the child resulted from the misbehaviour of the parents. See Cats, *Huwelijk*, 118–20.

⁵⁸Part 1, 1–168, with an appendix of 56 pages, is about child-rearing and contains 52 emblems together with three emblems in the appendix; part 2, 1–104, with an appendix of 24 pages, is about marriage and the specific roles of man and woman; part 3, 1–160, with an appendix of 16 pages, is about how to behave and act in society starts and ends with proverbs from the New Testament.

⁵⁹Cf. Dekker, *Het verlangen*; Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*.

Child-rearing in emblems from *Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time*

In Emblem I, “Rami correcti rectificantur, trabsminimè” [A young twig can be bent, but old trees not],⁶⁰ Cats tells his readers that fathers should start as soon as possible with bending the young child in the right direction, i.e. filling the *tabula rasa* with knowledge of the virtues. The image (Figure 2), followed by two pages of text with quotes in Italian, Dutch, Turk, Greek, Latin, Spanish, and French, some of them from the Bible, shows how difficult it is to bend old trees. The man on the ladder, although frustrated because the bending seems to fail, still shows some hope that he eventually could bend that old tree. His concentrated face and working arms express this hope. The standing man, however, knows that the bending will fail. He shows astonishment and wonder, as can be seen by his pointing hands and his open mouth. He wonders why the man on the ladder, against his better judgement, continues to try to bend the old tree, and he therefore speaks the words of the proverb: “A young twig can be bent, but old trees not”.⁶¹

In Emblem II, in Middle French “Pomme pourrie gaste sa compagnie” [One rotten apple could destroy its company], a fruiterer warns a girl about bad company by comparing bad company with rotten fruit. She emphasises that one single rotten apple, or any other fruit, or a bad behaving sheep, can destroy all other apples, or influence the other sheep, and that a hundred sound pears cannot prevent further spoiling of that single rotten pear. The message is that the girls should steer clear of bad company. The embodiment of the emblem enforces its message. The girl expresses fear. While she reaches her hand to the rotten apple, her face expresses fear with her eyebrows raised and her mouth strained. Although the woman’s body and face look neutral, she probably is worried and perhaps also anxious, for she tries to warn the girl.⁶²

In Emblem III, entitled “Waer de Slanghe ‘thooft in krijght, daer krijgtse ‘tlijf in” [“Where the snake gets its head in, it also gets its body in”], a father tells his son how to “overcome his stupid youth” by showing a snake, with bad connotations from the first book of the Bible, that tries to get his head into a small crevice. When the head is in it, the body will follow, and this also happens metaphorically with human beings. The message is that the son should never give even a little bit room to any evil, for then the proverb will become reality: when the head is in, the body will follow. The message is bodied by letting the son express the emotion of wonder. The son listens with great interest to his father’s story, with his eyes wide open and his eyebrows and the corners of his mouth slightly raised. The father shows fear with his pointing hand and withdrawn position: at first sight this shows fear for the snake but, as the text makes clear, he is afraid of the future moral life of his son.⁶³

In Emblem IV, in German “Wann man die Sauer kutzelt, so legt sie sich im dreck” [When the pig is pampered, she goes lying in the manure], Cats compares the child with a pig. Parents often look at their children as a tame pigs and caress and pamper them too much. But then, so the message goes, children symbolically go lying in the manure. Parents have to become educationally active, and not passive. When we look at the body of the man in the emblem, we see love and joy as his main emotions. He shows love for the pig by petting it,

⁶⁰In Dutch: “Jonck rijs is te buygen / maer geen oude boomen”.

⁶¹Jacob Cats, Emblem I, *Spiegel*, 1–3: “Hoort, Vaders van het huys, de jeugth, de teere jeught / Dient van den eersten afgebogen tot de deught”.

⁶²Jacob Cats, Emblem II, *Spiegel*, 4–7. In later editions, for example the complete works (*Alle de werken*, 1862 Part 1), the French title is followed by the Dutch title “Een rotten appel in de mande, maeckt oock het gave fruyt te schande”.

⁶³Jacob Cats, Emblem III, *Spiegel*, 8–9.

with his open eyes and crow's feet around them as well as his raised cheeks expressing joy. The women, on the contrary, express abomination, knowing that the man is doing wrong. The arms of the right woman express dislike and the finger of the left woman makes sure that it is about the man with the pig. Their strained mouths and lowered eyebrows – see Le Brun – also show abomination at the way the man behaves for this is not how you should educate your children.⁶⁴

In Emblem V, entitled “Elck spiegle hem selven” [Everybody should look in the mirror], a man, probably the father, speaks to a girl, probably his daughter, who is looking in the mirror. Looking in the mirror gives information about your body and how your clothes and ornaments look like. But, so the father adds, do not forget to also look inside you. Inside you, your beauty should shine, for inside is your heart. The message is that you should first of all live according to the virtues, for “The virtue, the real virtue, [is] elevated above all else”.⁶⁵ Although the father understands the importance of outside beauty for the girl, he makes clear that eventually the beauty of the inside, your mind, is more important. The girl's main emotion is avoidance. While she is looking in the mirror and so looking at herself, she is unexpectedly interrupted in this intimate activity by the arrival of her father, whose head she sees in her mirror next to her own face. She clearly is not amused by that interruption. Her body and her eyes turn away from her father and express avoidance. Her father's main emotions seem to be hope and (fatherly) love. His eyes and the crow's feet around them show a positive emotion and the direction of his body express hope and dedication for he is determined, as a loving father, to warn his daughter about not focusing on the outside of the body, but on the inside of the soul.

In Emblem VI, with the German title “Es musz ein ieder ein par narren Schuhen vertretten, wo nicht mer” [One must wear a pair of shoes from a jester, before one is truly wise], Cats emphasises that becoming wise is a process of trial and error during youth, when youngsters metaphorically will sometimes walk in jester's shoes, in other words behave stupidly. Foolish behaviour is part of that life phase: “Allow the youth her sweet quirks.” But youngsters should not wait too long to change those jester's shoes. The same understanding of trial and error during youth is to be seen in his *Moral Emblem*. The body of the jester shows the emotion of joy through the jester's smile, lifted cheeks, and dancing moves with his legs and arms. The youngsters also show this emotion by playing music and making dancing movements. While the text makes clear that this behaviour should come to an end, the bodies in the image do not express that: they only express joy.⁶⁶

Emblem I of the appendix to part one is entitled “Vade ad formicam, piger”, from Proverb 6:6 of the Old Testament, in its complete version: “vade ad formicam o piger et considera vias eius et discite sapientiam” [Go to the ant, you lazy-bones, and study her ways, and learn wisdom]. The image and the caption (Figure 3) seem to show that the older man says to the lazy boy that he should follow the example of the ants and become diligent. The text makes

⁶⁴Jacob Cats, Emblem IV, *Spiegel*, 10–11: “Met kinders, die men heeft geteelt, / En dient niet alle-tijt gespeelt, / [...] Want Ouders van te sachten mont / Zijn voor de jonckheyt ongesont. / Men houdt dat meest de kinders zijn / Gelijck een mack en weelig swijn, / Dat soo ment troetelt inden neck, / Gaet leggen midden inden dreck; / Dus soo ghy tracht nae deught en eer, / En streelt u kinders niet te seer”.

⁶⁵Jacob Cats, Emblem V, *Spiegel*, 13: “Gaet oeffent ue verstant in all goede seden, / Gaet offent uwen mont in alle wijse reden”. Want: “De deught, de waere deught, is verre boven al”.

⁶⁶Jacob Cats, Emblem VI, *Spiegel*, 15–18. In the complete works (*Alle de werken*, 1862, part 1), the original German title is followed by the Dutch title “Men moet een paer narre-schoenen verslijten, eer men recht wijs wort”, which is more explicit about becoming wise than the German one. For *Moral Emblems*, see Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 151–3. Joy was part of the passions summarised in Figure 1 on main contemporary authors.

clear that there also is a more general warning in the emblem: you should always avoid bad company – and many animals are mentioned as examples of such bad company – but follow good examples, such as the ant. The text also emphasises parental responsibility by stating that the son imitates his father and the daughter her mother. That the boy is not amused becomes clear from his body showing abomination, for his lying position and the expression of his mouth express that he is not really interested in what his father tells him. The father, however, like the father in Emblem V with the girl looking in the mirror, shows hope and (fatherly) love, while his finger points out that he has something important to tell. He hopes that his son will listen to his warning and become active and motivated to learn.⁶⁷

Courtship in emblems from *Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time*

The majority of emblems from part one deal with the regulation of emotions that emerge during the process of finding a partner. According to Cats, paying court to someone should happen both decently, namely by preserving virginity, and effectively, namely resulting in a good match and a marriage. *Moral Emblems* approaches this topic systematically in three distinct phases of the pleasure of youth, the emergence of risks and dangers, to eventually living according to the virtues, respectively.⁶⁸ In *Mirror*, there is not such a tight format with the structure and length of the emblems being flexible. Every emblem is arranged around a proverb, and evidence of the proverb's importance is given by comparable or similar texts from other languages and countries, and often strengthened with examples from the Old Testament. This makes this Dutch emblem book also a European one. The majority of emblems on paying court are about how to avoid loss of virginity. When effectiveness is at stake, next to the roles of lovers the parents' roles are also dealt with. The emblems below form a selection of emblems on paying court and cover its main topics, namely avoiding loss of virginity, effective courtship, the role of parents, and freedom of choice.

The image of Emblem VII, "Amor docet Musicam" [Love teaches music], at first sight seems to be quite similar to "Merry Family" paintings, produced in great numbers during this period, made famous worldwide by canvasses from Jan Steen, and showing people of all ages playing on music instruments. But those paintings are not based on the proverb "Amor docet Musicam" but on the proverb "As the old sing, so pipe the young". That tells that the parental example is decisive for the child's behaviour and warns that wrong parental behaviour automatically results in their children's wrong behaviour.⁶⁹ Emblem VII from *Mirror*, however, is based on the proverb "Amor docet Musicam" and tells about the fruitful working of love, in the text represented by Amor, son of Venus. The emblem introduces the theme of courtship. Cats, before treating the many problems, dangers, and pitfalls connected with courtship and love, in this introductory emblem sings the praises first in an Erasmian way about its fruitful effects. Love is considered to be the most effective educational instrument and compared with a schoolmaster in a class of growing children,

⁶⁷Jacob Cats, Emblem "Vade ad formicam, piger", appendix to part one, *Spiegel*, 7. Cats, although a Calvinist, uses the text from the *Biblia Sacra*, also mentioned the *Vulgata*, the Latin translation of the Bible, produced in the fourth century and from the Council of Trent in 1545–63 until the twentieth century the official Roman Catholic translation of the Bible, for this Latin proverb. The second emblem of the appendix (16), entitled "Sensim & Sine sensu", a title taken from Cicero's *De Senectute*, 11.28: *sensim sine sensu aetas senescit*, and meaning that we quietly, without noticing, get older, deals with life course, not with education or child-rearing.

⁶⁸See Dekker, "Looking at Filtered Realities".

⁶⁹See Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History*, 42–3.

a master “sonder plack”, i.e. without ferule, for he does not need such disciplinary tools. Everything is going smoothly and all children are happy, as can be seen, following Le Brun, by their lifted mouth and cheeks and their wide-open eyes.⁷⁰

In Emblem VIII, entitled “Het Schaep dient voor den dam geschut” [The sheep should be impounded before the dam], the warnings start. The farmer tells that while he and his woman, Trijn, were making love, the sheep went in the direction of a field that he had just sown. While he wanted to impound the sheep in due course, Trijn wanted to continue making love. Then he repeats the proverb: “The sheep should be impounded before the dam”, using it in a metaphorical way to advise youngsters, both girls and boys, and in the text, ewe and ram, to not follow Amor and to end the play of love in time. The man expresses the emotion of anger with his stretched lips and frowning eyebrows that make look him angry or annoyed with his wife. His wife is disappointed because the future harvest of the field is more important to her husband than making love with her.⁷¹

Emblem XXIV, entitled “De boom en valt ten eersten slag niet” [The tree does not fall over at the first blow], is about keeping going when paying court. The older man, instilling courage in the younger one, probably his son, points to a third man who with several blows eventually succeeds in cutting down the tree. It is like paying court, so the older man says. He advises his son, although up to now several young women have rejected his advances, to keep on paying court. Eventually, he will also find a partner. The man with the axe shows commitment through his raised arms and concentration on his face. By indicating with his finger to the successfully felled tree, the older man says to the young man that paying court should also go that way, namely with patience. The young man listens with his head bent which seems to express disappointment, from which his father tries to shake him.⁷²

In Emblem XXX (Figure 4), entitled “Beter by den uyl geseten, als met den valck gevlogen” [Better sitting with the owl then flying with the falcon], the father advises his daughter when she is torn between two lovers. The first is compared to the falcon and seems the more exciting, dynamic, and sexy one. The second is compared to the owl sitting together with a pigeon, and unsurprisingly is calm and also perhaps a little boring. The girl hesitates, although more inclined to the pleasant moments with the falcon-like lover. Her father (here, we read Cats) has another opinion: it should be better to sit with the owl than fly with the falcon. A relationship with the owl-like lover could develop into a good marriage, but not so with the falcon-like lover. The image strengthens this, for the falcon, fighting with a heron, is pierced. The girl's face seems to express the emotions of anger and doubt, inclined as she is to the falcon. Her emotions are expressed by her downwards eyebrows, depressed lower lip, dropped jaws, and closed body, turned away from her father. He is determined. Although his facial expression seems to be rather neutral, his finger, as well as the text of the emblem, expresses a strong determination to persuade his daughter to marry a calm boy instead of an exciting and adventurous one.⁷³

Emblem XXXI, entitled “Met onwillige honden ist quaet hasen vangen” [With unwilling dogs it is difficult to catch hares], tells about the effectiveness of paying court, but also something else: the child's freedom in paying court. In the emblem, Claes, a young man is

⁷⁰Jacob Cats, Emblem VII, *Spiegel*, 19–22. In *Alle de werken*, 1862, part 1, the Latin title is followed by the Dutch title “Liefde leert singen, oock sonder dwingen”.

⁷¹Jacob Cats, Emblem VIII, *Spiegel*, 23–5. In *Alle de werken*, 1862, part 1, the text of the title from 1632 is followed by “dat is voor al de jonckheyt nut”.

⁷²Jacob Cats, Emblem XXIV, *Spiegel*, 73–4.

⁷³Jacob Cats, Emblem XXX, *Spiegel*, 90–2.

according to his father too passive in paying court. He is compared to an unwilling dog. The girl to whom he should pay court is compared to the hare. The father has made up his mind: the young woman is an excellent match for his son, Claes, and for the family. For she – her name is not mentioned – will soon expect a major inheritance from her godmother named Griet, “when she [Griet] will become a dead body”, as Cats expresses himself graphically. Claes, as the emblem shows, resists his father’s plan to serve the best financial interest of the family. And he gets support from his mother. She asks herself in a typically modern way: “Is paying court not a free activity to which nobody should be forced?”⁷⁴ Her answer is: yes, and therefore the parents should wait until Claes finds a girl attractive enough for him to pay court to her.

The emblem is thus about two elements of paying court: its effectiveness, as expressed by the emblem’s title, and freedom of partner choice. The father looks angry because of his son’s refusal to cooperate with his excellent plan and his failure to convince his son. The body language of the son, stepping back and withdrawing his hands, almost showing abomination, makes clear that he is not in the mood to do anything to pay court to the girl. Father and son are compared with the hunter and the unwilling dog, to be seen in the background of the image, and doomed to fail.⁷⁵ The mother, with her emphasis on free partner choice, is depicted as the successful person in the emblem. She looks determined with the catch, a bird, in her hands and a disciplined and not unwilling dog next to her.

Most other emblems deal with the risk of losing virginity before marriage, for example Emblem XXXVII, entitled “Die een schoone kat heeft, en dient gheen bont-wercker in huys te brengen” [Who has a beautiful cat should not admit fur workers in his house]. The father of “a series of daughters” warns, following his fatherly duty, against a man with a history of seducing girls and even speaks openly about his bastard child.⁷⁶ His daughters should be careful of any contact: the father compares them to young cats having nice fur and the man to a fur worker unable to keep off fresh fur. In the image, the man in the foreground, the fur worker, shows his desire to catch the cat, with his body, hands, and eyes directed to the cat. In the background, a young man and a young woman are looking at how the fur worker is seducing the cat, a process which already seems to have happened to them.

6. Conclusion

Based on a framework resulting from an analysis of the discourse on the classification and the regulation of emotions in early modern Europe, a sample of seventeenth-century emblems from one of the most popular books of the Dutch seventeenth-century republic, Cats’ 1632 *Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time* was analysed by looking at the configuration of bodies and the posture and facial expressions of individuals, both children and adults – the embodiment of the teaching – in relation to the emblem’s text. Emotions named by philosophers and theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also expressed in those emblems. One category of emblems deals with adults, mostly fathers, who warn their child about moral dangers like “contamination” by bad company, marrying too early or to the wrong person, or paying too much attention to the outside, i.e. the body,

⁷⁴Jacob Cats, Emblem XXXI, *Spiegel*, 93–7, 96: “Is vryen niet een vry bejagh / Daer toe men niemant dwingen mach?”

⁷⁵Jacob Cats, Emblem XXXI, *Spiegel*, 98: “Want jaegt zijn hont maer uyt bedwangh, / soo blijft de jager sonder vangh”, 97.

⁷⁶Jacob Cats, Emblem XXXVII, *Spiegel*, 113–14, 113: “Een man had in zijn huys een hoop van jonge maegden / Die menigh jongh-gesel met allen wel behaegden”.

instead of the inside, i.e. the heart. In those emblems, adults show both positive and negative emotions, like concern, dedication, fear or hope, resulting from love for their children. Their children express other emotions, mostly neutral or negative ones, like fear, anger, surprise, avoidance, abomination, or doubt. In some emblems, animals or objects are used to represent education symbolically. The emblems carry the message that behavioural mistakes belong to the phase of youth and that teaching children to control their emotions could be done by fun, or so goes the message from Jacob Cats. Remarkable was the opinion of Cats, to be seen in Amblems IV and XXXI, that mothers have a more sensible, some would even say modern, opinion than fathers, for example when the father pampers the child too much or when he tries to arrange a partner for his son.

Mirror of the Ancient and Modern Time was one of the most popular books in seventeenth-century Holland. It was an attractive form of educational support because of the mixture of funny elements, puzzling texts, and a various languages. Many people, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, bought and read his work, evidence for the conclusion that a majority of Dutch burghers shared the messages in the emblems. Moreover, this Dutch emblem book was international at first sight: it used many languages, sometimes even for the titles, and was mainly based on proverbs and ideas from the Bible and Ancient Greece and Rome, and influenced by the Renaissance, Humanism, and Reformation. Its Dutch readership thus got a European educational and emotional discourse.

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